Richard Kandt says of the Batussi:

181 "If I analyze my feelings and state them honestly, I must say that I was impressed by them. Even now I have not lost this feeling although my mind rebels against it and although I have told myself hundreds of times that these people are, after all, barbarians far inferior to me intellectually. But it is of no avail! I have explained to myself the source of this feeling, so unusual to experience toward a colored person ... Apart from the gigantic stature, apart from the nobility of each movement and the dignity of their manner of speech, apart from the tasteful unobtrusive manner in which they dress, apart from their refined features and the calm penetrating, often even mocking and provocative eyes, apart from all this, there still is -- and here I hesitate and am unable to formulate the dim obscure feelings which hover in my imagination." (No. 22, p. 266.)

[544] This is a sentimental but a very understandable judgment. In actual fact the Batussi are a ruling caste, but not a ruling race in the ethical sense.

563 Gradually one discovers the secret of the tremendous
186 superiority of the relatively few Batussi over the one and a half
156 million Bahutu: they are greatly superior to them in intelligence, calmness, composure, cruelty, cunning, racial pride, solidarity, and political talent. What strikes one most about the individual Mutussi, apart from his imposing outward appearance which certainly must have made a great impression on the Muhutu from the beginning, is first his calm and what appears to be unconcerned reserve. In his contact with the restless, impulsive, thoughtless Muhutu, this has always been to his advantage.
[609] Further one is struck by the arrogance he displays even toward Europeans, by his abysmal mendacity and cowardice when faced with any disagreeable situation. The Mutussi regards himself and his kind as the crown of creation, as a paragon of cleverness and political skill. This is small wonder, for the inferiority of the relatively few tribes within his sphere of vision -- intentionally kept narrowly circumscribed -- and the fact that a Batussi minority rules the large Bahutu people were bound to increase his feeling
186 609 of importance beyond all measure. It is true that he fears the

186 European because the latter is in possession of many mysterious
609 powers and resources, for example, the breechloader and technical skills, but he nevertheless considers him basically stupid since he can deceive him, and he looks down upon him with more contempt the less he knows and understands him. As a traveler, one at first has to get used to being looked up and down with a contemptuous smile by most Batussi in conversations and negotiations far from the military posts, and from then on it is best to treat them with a certain amount of humorous derision, provided one is capable of it. The longer one has traveled in Negro areas and the better one has familiarized oneself with Negro character, the more one is impressed when first meeting the Batussi by their proud reserve. There is no restless curiosity [15], no noisy, half fearful, half good-natured greeting as with most Negroes, but, calm and composed, these tall fellows stand there, leaning on their spears, and let the European pass or approach as though the unusual phenomenon did not impress them in the least. It is not until one matches their self-assurance and meets them with some force to back one up that one notices from the restless play of their eyes and the veins in their necks that most of them have a nervous uneasiness, anxiety, and fear concealed behind their apparent indifference.

181 Never or only very seldom does the Mutussi say what he thinks; it has to be inferred. Indeed, lying is not only customary to strangers, but it is a deep-rooted vice practiced toward everyone. This is a moral defect which cannot be glossed over by considering it optimistically, as R. Kandt does, as a "kind of competition between two intellects which to them is not dishonorable," or as "the unconscious transference into real life of their graceful riddle games, unusual for a Negro people, with which even as children they are accustomed to enliven conviviality" (No. 22, p. 273). Such romanticism is misleading in ethnology and ethnopsychology; sober objectivity in the evaluation of our colonial peoples is necessary for practical reasons alone.

In addition to mendacity, laziness and cowardice are also unpleasant character traits of the Batussi. The Mutussi never

563 acquiring a reputation among the superstitious Bahutu of being
[754] great sorcerers and have made themselves greatly feared for this reason. Also, the priesthood works hand in hand with them to enslave and exploit the people (see p. 134). The exploita-
563 tion of the mass of the people and the crass egoism of the small
642 Batussi minority are made possible by the whole ingenious political system of both the Barundi and the Banjaruanda, with its strict legal separation of races and castes, with the rigidly graded system of vassals and supervising officials, the hierarchy of priests, privileged families, princes, etc. All this will be described in detail in later chapters of this book.* The astonishing political acumen of the Batussi merely promotes the selfishness with which they exploit the subject Bahutu. There is no trace of any higher conception of the state.

For this reason it is natural that the Bahutu regard the
563 Batussi only as conquerors of a different tribe whose yoke weighs
181 heavily on them. Yet, although they hate the Batussi, they make no effort to free themselves from their bondage for, like almost all Negro peoples, their nature necessitates subordination under a firm guiding hand. Moreover, their fear of the Batussi is so great that they would not hazard an open rebellion against them. Indeed, though few in numbers, the Batussi are vastly
563 superior to the Bahutu in intelligence and in the fact that a
● 186 solidarity exists among them which is constantly being renewed under the impulse of common interests. The Bahutu, on the other hand, are split up into a number of mutually warring clans and tribal groups, lack any sort of genuine national consciousness, and are being played off against each other in an ingenious manner by the Batussi.

000 As long as the Batussi are the rulers in the country, an intellectual and cultural revival of the Barundi people is impossible, for it is only the present depressed condition of the Bahutu, maintained through hundreds of years of seclusion, that guarantees the domination of the Batussi. For the time being, however, we Germans must collaborate with the Batussi and interest them materially in our projects in Urundi since we are still too weak to meet an open attack on their part. The goal of our long term colonial policy, however, must be to crush the

643 be /486/ by this dreadful assignment. Hands unpracticed in dealing
64 death might sometimes fumble, but the master was watching and
646 the task had to be carried through. The fact of being a friend of the victim did not exempt anyone from this odious task.

As a rule and with some rare exceptions, it may be said that the subjects were not inordinately appalled by such assignments, so much was this an accepted custom of the times.

186 This did not prevent the Banyarwanda from regarding themselves as superior to other Blacks, whom they thought to surpass in intelligence and civilization. Despite the stains and stigmas of the past, they reject with irritation the term Shenzi, which is applied exclusively to noncivilized groups, as not applying in any way to them or to their ancestors. It is good to close the tale of these cruel practices and to feel that the curtain of time has been drawn forever over the past.

III. Poisoning and Bewitching: The Use of Charms and Philters

754 What should we really believe about those victims whose death is attributed to bewitchment or poisoning? The Blacks unquestionably mention this constantly. Their credulity in this connection is universal and extraordinary.

Numerous examples are cited of deaths which are said to have resulted from one or the other of those alleged causes.

We may add that the natives are familiar with numerous methods for bewitching their enemies, and that sorcerers in this evil category, both male and female, are found in great numbers throughout the country. One thing is certain: their superlative reputation is worse than their deeds.

As for crimes of poisoning, one may rest assured that such attempts were made and that toxic materials were used to this end, some of which were extracted locally and others purchased in neighboring regions such as /487/ the Uswi and Bunyabungu. How effective were those poisons? This is not easy to determine since, on the one hand, a true case of poisoning has never actually been witnessed, although the Blacks are absolutely convinced that they do occur

231 Even the great chiefs flatter the king in the hope of enlarging
556 their herds. On every occasion they repeat the time-honored phrase: "You can never have enough cows," which in our capitalistic society is tantamount to saying: "You can never have enough money."

576 If a man enters the service of another man, he introduces
231 himself quite simply with the phrase, "naje kukusaba amata," "I come to get milk," or "umpe amata, unkize," "give me milk, heal me."

[126] In polite discourse it is customary to address a person as a bestower of cattle or gratefully to remind him of a previous gift of a cow.

[557] If a man of higher social rank stumbles as he walks, his attendants say: "humura, wampaye inka (calm yourself, you who have given me a cow)." This may not be literally true, but it emphasizes the man's higher rank.

609 Among themselves the Batutsi speak of the Europeans as gituku, "the red ones." It is interesting to note that the Abyssinians call themselves "the red ones" in contrast to white Europeans and black Negroes whom they do not esteem very highly (1).

1. According to a verbal report by the Russian Embassy physician in Addis Ababa, Dr. A. Kochanowski.

In Ruanda the word bazungu refers to the colored retinue of Europeans, their servants and soldiers. Thus, when my donkey boy detoured around our camp which was on a hill and took a lower road, I was told: "muzungu aise epfo," meaning "muzungu passed by down below."

609 The Batutsi have absolutely no reason for welcoming
262 Europeans with warmth and enthusiasm. At the very least their
● 186 comfort is disturbed by the intruders. For this reason they sometimes make very unflattering remarks about them. The Europeans' chief offense is that they are not fastidious about their diet. In contrast to local custom, they eat everything; in fact, like the despised Batwa, they do not even scorn eggs and chickens, which the Mututsi finds disgusting. Thus, Europeans and their retinues are given the scornful epithets mpyesi, "hyenas," and bikoko or bisumba, "wild beasts."

609 If a Mututsi approaches a European, he covers his mouth and
201 nose with his hand. This gesture immediately sets the Batutsi
●186 apart from their subjects; the Bahutu and the Batwa do not do this.
It is difficult to explain the reason for this gesture. The chief
motive is probably the fear of being poisoned. I repeatedly
noticed that when I handled their pipes to examine the decorations,
they did not go on smoking them. Another reason for this custom
[826] is vanity; the Batutsi seem to regard their protruding mouths as
ugly. Thus, it was very difficult to photograph Musinga with his
mouth uncovered. Another reason why they cover their mouths
may be the odor of Europeans, which is unpleasant to them.
Washed with soap and water, Europeans are said to smell like
[302] corpses to the Batutsi who are pomaded and perfumed with rancid
butter.

609 During my stay in Nyanza and after the departure of our [127]
expedition, which reduced the number of Europeans to ten, Musinga
186 grew quite weary of the strangers. This was brought out, among
other things, by an amusing incident. He decided that the offen-
sive European odor had even got into his house, so he had the box
of toilet soap which had been presented to him thrown into the
swamp. Previously he had kept it in his royal treasure chamber.

It is clear that Europeans, with their angular, nervous move-
ments and their ungainly, short, broad frames, so much more simi-
lar in build to the despised Bahutu than to the aristocratic Batutsi,
are objects of secret derision. For example, I overheard the re-
mark that the Europeans wear shoes to cover up the hoofs which they
have in common with their donkeys.

[626] A Munyaruanda [Ruanda] who associates with Europeans is
given the name inyanga Ruanda, "apostate," "renegade." Literally
the word means "Ruanda hater" and is derived from the word
kuhanga, "to hate." The name is regarded as a very great insult.

[582] The Batutsi are very exclusive. In their scorn of others they
go so far as to avoid taking women and children from the subjugated
Bahutu and limit themselves to women of their own tribe who are
very free and easily accessible for men of their race.

181 According to all the Europeans who had anything to do with
them, the Batutsi are cowardly. In contrast to them, the Bahutu,
563 who form the bulk of the Ruanda conscriptees, are praised for their

194 pronouncing 's' and that their speech is more aspirated. However, I noticed this not only among the Batwa but also among the true Pygmies on the Ituri. Father Classe says that their language
197 seems to be midway between Kigwe (Kisukuma), Runyambo, Ruziba, and Luganda. In other words, it is a dialect of the interlacustrine group.

Father P. Barthelémy told me that the Batwa who accompanied him on his trip up the volcano spoke an idiom among themselves which was unfamiliar to him. He could not say whether this was a northern dialect similar to Ruhunde or a separate language.

Although everyone finds it disgusting to eat with a Mutwa,
563 the latter despises the Muhutu who must till his field and go about
● 186 his daily chores with a bent back. The free Mutwa hunter from the forest in turn despises the Batwa living in the villages whose chief occupation is pottery. He calls them, scornfully, banyamikenke, "sons of the grass". (3)

3. Parisch, F. R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

563 The Forest Mutwa is very proud of his unrestricted way of
674 life and his independence. He regards the forest as his property in which he has completely free rein, and he feels that the robbing of intruders who cross the forest borders is his sacred right. He defends his forest from intruders just as the Muhutu does his fields.

Even the Bahutu acknowledge this right of the Batwa to a certain extent. They allow themselves to be robbed in the primeval forest without offering the least resistance, for they maintain that without [132] the consent of the Batwa they would not even get out of the forest. This is quite possible, since the hunters are so well oriented in the forest that they could find ample opportunity to ambush and shoot their victims.

563 Despite these advantages, the Batwa's struggle against the
311 encroaching Bahutu is completely hopeless. The dreaded hunters are being pushed back everywhere by the farmers. With the

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

There is also an excess of cattle. In 1950 there were about 450,000 head of cattle for which cattle tax was paid, but in fact they are considerably more numerous. It is estimated that out of these 450,000 there is a surplus of 200,000. Again, although veterinary assistance has lessened the incidence of many cattle diseases, it is highly probable that there has been an excessive cattle population for a very long time.

This overpopulation by both men and cattle, which is increasingly rapidly transforming the country into a desert, is the most pressing problem for those who are in charge of the country at the present time. But—and this is why I have stressed it so much—the type of human occupation which is responsible for it had prevailed for several hundred years at the time chosen for this study. The Ruanda thus have long had to adapt themselves to an ecological situation allowing them a very narrow security margin in the fulfilment of the primary condition for survival, food.

3. FOOD

It is mainly by agriculture and cattle-rearing that the people managed to get from the land as much food as their implements and their abilities allowed.

Hunting played very little part in their quest for food. Only the Twa, for whom hunting was a traditional occupation, ate game, which is another reason why they were despised by the Hutu and Tutsi. Hunting was significant in two connexions only. In the first place it was a means of providing the Tutsi with a supply of skins and ivory. Skins were used at the court for clothing and ornament, and war dancers wore loin-cloths made of leopard or civet skins and head-dresses decorated with the long white hair of colobus monkeys. In the second place the Tutsi regarded hunting as a sport. They liked to show their adroitness with spears and javelins, bows and arrows. But the meat of the quarry was left to Twa who had tracked the game, and to dogs.

Fishing has never been very much practised, though lakes in Ruanda are numerous, Kivu on the western border, Mohasi, Bulera, Mugesera, &c. Before the introduction of tilapia (a fish well adapted to these waters and excellent to eat) into these lakes in 1936, the kind of fish to be found there was neither very abundant, nor edible. In any case, the eating of fish, even when very good according to European standards, was regarded as disgusting. Even now it is very difficult to persuade people to eat

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

irregular, dependent on circumstances—a good hunt or a generous reward for dancing and singing.

The Tutsi had a strictly controlled attitude towards solid food. They behaved as if the need for nourishment was, if not shameful, at least beneath their dignity. The taking of a meal was something to be done privately. Friends were offered beer or milk, but they were not asked to share a whole meal. When travelling the Tutsi were not supposed to eat solid food and if the journey did not exceed two or even three days, they very often actually did not eat. It is said that a true Tutsi subsists only on milk and beer and some old men take pride in boasting of it. This attitude towards solid food might be explained as an attempt on the part of the conquering pastoralists to stress their independence of the foodstuffs produced by and characteristic of commoners and on a deeper level as an affirmation of what we might term a fundamental difference between themselves and Hutu. The Tutsi, according to their legends, came from another world. They were human beings like the Hutu, but not in quite the same way. This interpretation of the Tutsi attitude to food is supported by their emphasis on greediness in the Hutu character, and gluttony in the Twa. In most of the tales in which Hutu appeared, they were conspicuous by their overeating. For the Twa this feature was still more stressed. Another fact significant in this respect was the very strong prohibition on Hutu servants attending the meals of their Tutsi masters to reveal what they ate. This prohibition was magically sanctioned.

4. CLOTHING AND SHELTER

In the highlands, especially during the rainy season and at night, adequate covering against cold and damp is needed. Boys and girls, however, go completely naked as long as they are *abana* (children), that is up to the age of eight or nine for girls and ten or eleven for boys. As children usually do not go very far from the compounds, they may find some protection against cold either inside the hut or by picking up a skin or blanket. But the great number of diseases of the respiratory organs among children is a sign of their inadequate protection against bad weather.

The traditional Twa garment was a sheep skin. The Hutu wore bark-cloth as a sort of skirt from the waist down to the knees.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

conquest: the procession of the victorious warriors, and the recitation of poems telling of the achievements of heroes. The whole country was mystically committed in the expedition through the king, the country's personification, who was magically taking part in it. The king and the queen-mother had (as the expedition leader) to sit motionless during the day of the battle (the army-chief in the field when deciding when to attack had to take into account the space of time necessary for a messenger to reach the court). The secrecy about the expeditions stressed their importance. Even after the battle was over, a messenger was sent to the court who could not tell anything about the expedition except that it was over. Then a few warriors were chosen by the army-chief to go and tell the king—and the king only—the story of the battle.

Ruanda was an aggressive neighbour. Its history, as it appears in the old traditions collected by Father Pagès for instance, is made up of numerous wars of annexation. The Abanyiginia dynasty started from about the centre of the present day Ruanda and expanded their domination progressively.

They were never permanently at peace with their neighbours, and when they had an alliance with some of them it was in order only to be free to concentrate their forces on others. They used any means that could ensure domination. In addition to direct attacks, they interfered in quarrels between smaller neighbours, helping one against the other and then overcoming both; they even murdered the chiefs and kings of small states.[19] Besides the territorial annexations they raided neighbouring countries for captives and cattle.

From the Ruanda point of view this policy of imperialism and looting did not require any rationalization. Their ethical obligations were limited to in-group relationships. One could not kill, steal from, or harm another Ruanda, but a foreigner was fair game. Ruanda people thought themselves to be quite different from people of other tribes, their land was the most important in the world and the country where Imana (the high god) came home every evening and spent the night. It was consistent with these beliefs to use out-group people for one's own purposes without the need for further justification.

The Ruanda military structure appears thus to have been in its

[19] See for instance Pagès, 1933, pp. 121 f.; pp. 298 ff.; pp. 554 ff.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

courage of their forbears were made known to them, and the picture of the ideal Tutsi was impressed upon them.

The three main components of that ideal picture were *ubutware*, *ubugabo*, and *itonde*. *Ubutware* was the military courage so important in a group of conquerors. *Ubugabo* meant the quality of being a man (*mugabo*). This included trustworthiness in reference to promises, generosity in treating one's friends well, liberality towards the poor, moral courage to accept one's responsibilities. In a society where relations of inferiority and superiority were predominantly personal in the sense that authority was rarely abstract (a law, a principle) but generally identified with a person (chief, king, lord, &c.), emphasis was put on fidelity in all interpersonal relationships. *Itonde* could be translated by self-mastery. To lose one's temper, to manifest violent emotions was shameful. Anger, particularly, could not be violently expressed. The demeanour of a Tutsi was always to be dignified, polite, amiable, and a little supercilious. It was taken for granted that only vulgar persons showed off all their emotions. Hutu not being very self-controlled were much impressed by the external dignity of the Tutsi. There was in the *intore* companies a practical training in self-control. By jeers and scoffing, companions of the young Tutsi as well as older people, tried to make him angry and if he reacted emotionally, he was punished by further jokes. So finally he was able to remain apparently quiet and polite in any circumstances which would have elicited more violent reactions from people not thus trained.

Instruction aims at communicating a specialized knowledge and at teaching abilities in order to prepare certain individuals to fulfil the specialized tasks particularly useful to their group. The Ruanda armies instructed the young Tutsi in becoming experts in war and raiding. Some Tutsi are still proud of the superiority of their strategy over that of the Hima, pastoralists of related origin, who were living a more nomadic life in neighbouring territories.[21]

This socialization process, equipping personalities with qualities required of a nobleman, a courtier, and a warrior, was intended for Tutsi only. Hutu young men were not *intore* and did not become warriors, although Hutu were also members of the armies. But for them it meant being auxiliaries who carried the supplies

[21] On Hima, see Wilde, 1957.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

The army organization was also a factor for maintenance of the
701 social order by the protective function of the army-chiefs. A minimum of individual security must be granted to every member of a society. The support of the army-chief secured partly that minimum of security. The protection against incursions of enemies was also provided by the army as such. Finally, the participation of
[564] Hutu and Twa in foreign expeditions, although extremely re-
[186] stricted, certainly contributed to the formation of a Ruanda 'national' feeling.

6. THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

692 In the administrative and military structures, the king was the supreme political authority of Ruanda. Very closely associated with him was the queen-mother, who had an official role in the political sphere. Next, the highest dignitaries of the kingdom were the *biru*, guardians of traditions concerning the important events of the collective life of Ruanda. Finally, there was the council of the great chiefs. These four institutions may be regarded as having constituted the main element of the central government of Ruanda.

(*a*) *The king*

693 The theory of the Ruanda kingship was that the mwami was an absolute monarch in the fullest sense. There was no stated limit to his powers over the inhabitants, cattle, land, and even commodities of his country. His powers were not delegated by any authority and thus he had not to render an account of them to anybody. He was the supreme judge: his sentences were without appeal. He was the legislator having the right to change customs.

This theory of the king's powers was founded on their divine origin as mentioned earlier. The bami (plural of mwami) were very careful not to let their subjects forget their heavenly origin. Many rites stressed that they did not participate in the common nature of other men. This was also the reason why special words were used to indicate their common activities and the everyday objects they used (as for 'to get up', 'it is raining on the king's hut', 'his bed', 'his house', etc.). It was thus emphasized that in spite of their appearances, these activities and objects were fundamentally different from what they were for ordinary people.[22]

In fact the king's powers were of course limited. He had to respect the vested interests of important Tutsi lineages, he had to

[22] Pagès, 1933, pp. 491 f.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Tutsi control. A Hutu who in exchange for labour or agricultural goods had been able to acquire a few cows had necessarily to ask for the protection of a lord in order that his cows should not be seized upon under some pretence by a socially powerful neighbour. Then he received cows from his lord and they were merged with his own *imbata*. Consequently, if the agreement had to be ended, the lord could take away besides the cows he had granted, those which had previously belonged to the client.

The two political structures benefited most those among the Tutsi who were rulers. The feudal structure, by granting only a precarious possession of cattle to the clients, left in the hands of the Tutsi the ultimate control of cattle, symbol of social prestige and instrument of power. On the other hand, by the same *buhake*, Tutsi were obtaining the advantages of being provided with labour and agricultural produce. From that standpoint, the Ruanda feudal system granted a minority the means to live—and to live better than the bulk of the population—without having to participate in the manual labour of economic production, by the moderate and clever exploitation of the majority.

In order that an aristocratic structure may perpetuate itself without change as long as it is profitable to the superior caste, it is not sufficient to prevent an invasion or even an infiltration of members of inferior groups who, by modifying the proportion between exploiters and exploited, would completely disturb the smooth working of the system. It is also necessary that all those who are by birth members of the upper caste should live according to the standards of their group. It is most unusual for an upper caste to regard the falling off of some of its members without uneasiness and dismay. This is particularly true when the group position of power is rationalized in terms of innate superiority. Some modern governments in Africa, for example, are much concerned about the 'poor whites' because their decadence threatens the myth of the white racial superiority.

The Tutsi had a similar pretence to a natural superiority as has been pointed out already. Consequently, if one of them was unable to support himself in a way becoming to his caste and seemed on the point of slipping down into the group of those who work manually, it was regarded as a shocking situation that should at once be put right. The remedy was to become the client of a richer Tutsi. The cows thus received, allowed him to subsist in

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

was: how to monopolize social and political power to their benefit without preventing a Ruanda society from existing and functioning as a unity? How to realize an equilibrium between the necessities of any social life and the necessities of a permanent dominion of a group? This fundamental problem may be analysed into three antinomies: maintaining a caste society and promoting the cohesion of the society as a whole; exploiting and protecting the lower stratum; delegating powers to subordinate authorities and establishing a centralized and absolute government. How were these antinomies solved?

(*a*) *Caste society and social cohesion*

In order that the members of a dominant and hereditary group may keep their privileges, it is necessary that what gives prestige remains exclusively under their control. We have seen that in Ruanda the basis of social power and prestige lay in the effective disposal of cattle. As indicated earlier, the feudal system permitted the Tutsi to keep complete control of all Ruanda cattle, as the whole of a client's cattle was always liable to be confiscated by the lord under any pretence. Moreover, outside the *buhako* structure, the king kept the pre-eminent right over all Ruanda cattle. Even if he did not use frequently his rights against Hutu, they were not forgotten: the very cows which were not received from a lord but acquired by one's own efforts and over which the possessor had usufruct plus bare ownership, were called 'king's cows' (*inka z'umwami*) as often as *imbata*.

Usually, an upper caste shows its superiority by, among other things, its leisure and pleasant life. It has to enjoy a greater share of the good things of life than the commoners and it has to get this apparently without effort, rather as a right than as a reward for specific tasks. It was again the *buhake* which made it possible for the Tutsi caste to enjoy 'gracious living' becoming to its high social status. The man in control of a few head of cattle could, through the clientage institution, live without having to participate in the manual work of the production processes.

A third requirement for the maintenance of a caste identity is the preservation of the group's *esprit de corps* and traditions and their handing on by one generation to the next one. This was done in the kinship groups mainly by the grandparents, particularly by the paternal grandfather. There, lineage values and particular

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

traditions were transmitted. But a multiplicity of kinship group agents cannot be entrusted with a function as important for the caste as the socialization of its young members and their training in the qualities and virtues which had permitted their forbears to obtain power. Consequently, in Ruanda some formal institutes of education and instruction were set up. The *intore* companies in which every young man of the Tutsi caste spent several years, fulfilled these functions.

In order to avoid the dogma of the innate superiority of the upper layer being questioned if one of its members had to be cast out because he was unable to live up to the standards of his group, the clientage system acted as an institutionalized means of rescuing such people. It should be mentioned that the rescuer was not losing anything, as the Tutsi saved from social death could give him in return what was mainly expected from any Tutsi client: his attendance and his councils.

The tendency which leads a powerful group to constitute a closed caste, to maintain jealously its advantages, and to try to increase them, cannot be left without something to counterbalance it. Each caste, as Linton says, is a society in itself.[2] If the caste accentuates too much the characteristics which make it a socially complete group, isolated in the society of which it is only one layer, the cohesion of that society may be destroyed. Consequently, powerful factors of cohesion are needed to check the tendency towards social disintegration that exists within any caste structure. I have described solidarity factors already, but they may be summarized here.

First, there are certain groupings in which Tutsi and Hutu were to be found together. Names of the Tutsi and Hutu clans were similar. This suggested a certain solidarity among the bearers of the same clan name, however minimal it was. A comparable kind of Hutu participation existed in the armies. It is possible that the fact of having been commonly associated in dangerous circumstances gave a deeper feeling of unity to Hutu and Tutsi. The Ryangombe sect was open to Hutu and Twa as well as to Tutsi. Ryangombe himself is said to have addressed his invitation to join to every Ruanda, explicitly calling the Tutsi, the Hutu, the Twa, the men and the women.[3] As initiation ritual took place among kinsmen, however, there was no real inter-caste mingling in the

[2] Cf. Linton, 1936, pp. 130 f. [3] De Lacger, 1939, vol. I, p. 257.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

cultural premise underlying the social roles of the ruler and the subject.

We have seen that Ruanda society is made up of three hereditary groups with a very different participation in social power and that these differences were explained in terms of innate qualities. On the other hand, in a very great proportion of the political and feudal relations, the superior and the inferior belong to different castes. This indicates in what sense Ruanda feel men to be unequal.

This was not an inequality founded on differences in individual qualities or possessions. Of course, a very clever and artful man, a very wealthy possessor of great herds of cattle, could exert much greater influence, could have access to many more amenities of life and would command much more respect than a not very intelligent or a not very wealthy man. But these differences were not regarded as entailing such a significant inequality between them if they belonged to the same caste. Caste affiliation was mainly what made men unequal.

Several stories expressed the differences between the three castes and the qualities which were thought characteristic of them.[9] I mentioned above physical stereotypes. To them, moral qualities were added. Tutsi were said to be intelligent (in the sense of astute in political intrigues), capable of command, refined, courageous, and cruel; Hutu, hardworking, not very clever, extrovert, irascible, unmannerly, obedient, physically strong; Twa, gluttonous, loyal to their Tutsi masters, lazy, courageous when hunting, without any restraint. These stereotypes, admitted with only minor qualifications and slight differences and emphases by all Ruanda, Hutu and Twa as well as Tutsi, were thought to be essentially linked to caste affiliation. When asked if a Hutu brought up with Tutsi, and as a Tutsi boy, could not develop the Tutsi qualities, Hutu and Tutsi informants answer that such a training could change the boy to some extent, but not completely; the differences pertain to nature.

Caste status was, of course, not founded on a difference of qualities, objective or assumed, in the sense that if a particular Hutu was recognized as intelligent and courageous as a Tutsi, his status remained nevertheless unaffected. What mattered primarily indeed was not to have the qualifications of the upper caste, but to have been born in it. This was sufficient to determine a very

[9] Cf. for instance Sandrart, 1930, p. 139; Hurel, 1922.

same caste. There are some short Tutsi and some tall Hutu. This makes no difference, for physical indices are not needed to distinguish Tutsi from Hutu. Recognition is based on their manner, their way of speaking, and their behaviour. Everybody agrees that the Tutsi and the Tutsikazi are born more intelligent—or, at least, cleverer—than the Hutu. This can be seen, it is said, because the Tutsi make the Hutu work for them without necessarily giving anything in return. There is general agreement that the Tutsi have a pronounced tendency to avarice and that old Tutsikazi are the worst misers in the world. Further, the Tutsi are most accomplished rhetoricians. The Hutu mutter and the Hutukazi lisp, and they are incapable of a good lie or of an elegant impromptu oration which seem second nature to Tutsi. Here, however, a contrast must be noted between Tutsi men and women: the boys are taught to speak well, the girls to be silent except to offer polite, evasive phrases.

It is believed that the Tutsi are physically and psychologically more delicate than the Hutu. They are not made, as the Hutu are, to work in the fields, to carry heavy burdens on their heads, to eat the solid, heavy food of the farmers. The Hutu pity the Tutsi when the latter are obliged by the government to do manual labour. True delicacy is shown by the *imfura*, literally the first born, more generally any person of very high birth, whose charaeter and conduct constitute the model of nobility. The *imfura*, it is said, are so delicate that they take only liquid nourishment, especially milk and beer. All the Rundi know perfectly well that the Tutsi and their wives eat beef, cereals and vegetables. They are, however, so much taken by the myth of a liquid diet for superiors that even those who have been servants in the homes of Europeans—by definition, superiors—insist that the European diet is "liquid", that it does not give the strength needed for manual labour. Otherwise stated, persons of superior status do not work; their inferiors work for them. Elegance and dignity are joined together in everything that relates to the *imfura*. They wear beautiful clothing and much jewellery; they walk slowly and in front of others, or they are carried in a litter (although today the well-to-do prefer to travel by automobile); they speak softly, they never show their emotions; they are always discreet, they never discuss important matters in public. In fact, the dignity of well-born Tutsi and Tutsikazi seems sometimes to be primarily a frightening coldness and reserve. To respect the *imfura* and to fear them amounts to much the same thing.

It is necessary to stay in Burundi for a long time to see behind the stereotypes of the castes. In brief, it is assumed that the Tutsi